

PeaceWatch

OCTOBER 2007



Vol. XIII, No. 3

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, D.C. ■ www.usip.org

Peacebuilding in Colombia

As part of a continuing effort, USIP recently held a conflict resolution workshop, rooted in an innovative approach, for participants from the greater Cúcuta area of northeastern Colombia. Senior Program Officers Jonathan Morgenstein and Nina Sughrue continued USIP's partnership with the Colombian NGO Corporación Escuela Galán (CEG) and CEG staff Astrid Yepes and Tania Figueroa in undertaking the event. In recent years, the region has been at the center of a volatile blend of oil pipelines, paramilitary activity, and the trafficking of both illicit fuel and cocaine. The participants included leaders from local government, education, police/military, civil society, unions, business, and religious groups.

USIP and CEG established a unique program that focused first on identifying broader issues in conflict resolution and subsequently pinpointing specific local areas of contention. The main idea behind the program, according to Morgenstein, was to establish links of trust and harmony between the parties on more abstract issues in order to facilitate subsequent discussion of lo-



A recent protest over toll booths near Cúcuta, at Colombia's border with Venezuela. This and other conflicts were discussed at the recent USIP seminar. (AP Photo/La Opinion, Edgar Cusguen)

calized topics. It is "useful to develop amicable relationships of trust before you jump into contentious, divisive issues," he noted.

In an example of how the group concentrated on more abstract themes before looking at specific conflicts, the group discussed the article "Ending Violent Conflict in El Salvador" by Alvaro de Soto (in the USIP publication *Herding Cats*). The piece deals with how the Organization of American States helped

broker an end to El Salvador's civil war in the early 1990s. Based on this reading, the participants discussed general lessons learned about productive—and unproductive—paths to ending violent conflict, with an emphasis on the role of third parties.

Bearing in mind this framework, the participants were divided into several groups to look at specific localized conflicts. One group explored the Colombian government's establishment of tolls on routes from Venezuela, an action that has provoked confrontation between cross-border trade interests, smugglers, and traffic drivers. A

See *Colombia*, page 2

"It is useful to develop amicable relationships of trust before you jump into contentious, divisive issues."—Jonathan Morgenstein

Inside

- 3 New Institute Board Members Sworn In
- 4 USIP's Iraq Grants: Different Paths Toward Same Goal
- 5 New USIP Guide Bridges Gap Between Military and Aid Workers
- 6 USIP Hosts Second College and University Faculty Seminar
- 7 Second Annual Community College Faculty and Administrators Seminar Meets at Institute
- 8 Interview with Mohammed M. Hafez
- 10 Somalia: A New Cycle of Conflict
- 11 Examining Sources of Terror Financing


USIP On the Ground



Colombia

continued from page 1
 second looked into the Colombian government’s imposition of new higher-education standards —without input from teachers, administrators, or students. Another examined the phenomenon of squatters encroaching on a pre-existing community, which became outnumbered. Both parties have struggled over leadership and how outside assistance can best alleviate

the situation. The last looked into how various religious denominations contend, at times in destructive ways, to provide humanitarian and other assistance to vulnerable populations.

A key feature of the program was to temporarily relocate the participants, for two days, to a hotel setting in Chinácota, a local village 40 kilometers from Cúcuta. Such a setting facilitated discussion of the issues at hand, and participants were more easily able to focus on the sessions rather than on the distractions of

being in their home town on a daily basis. At night, the group took part in games that were designed to build teamwork and the group dynamic. “It was a really fun group. They wanted to continue the activities,” said Sughrue.

According to Sughrue, two of the lasting benefits of the workshop were the networks that were formed and the “multiplier effect”—participants in the seminar would eventually become trainers able to impart the

See Colombia, page 12



Left: USIP Senior Program Officers Nina Sughrue (top, fourth from left), Jonathan Morgenstein (bottom right) and conflict resolution training workshop participants in Cúcuta, Colombia. **Center:** Sughrue, Morgenstein, and Astrid Yepes, from Escuela Galán, review seminar activity. **Right:** Sughrue and seminar participants.



Left and Center: Sughrue and Morgenstein facilitate workshops. **Right:** Workshop participants.



Left: Program participants in “night activities.” **Right:** Sughrue and Colombian participants enjoy a light moment.



Peace Watch (ISSN 1080-9864) is published five times a year by the United States Institute of Peace, an independent, nonpartisan national institution established and funded by Congress to help prevent, manage, and resolve international conflicts. The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect views of the Institute or its Board of Directors.

To receive *Peace Watch*, visit our web site (www.usip.org); write to the United States Institute of Peace, 1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036-3011; call 202-429-3832; or fax 202-429-6063. A complete archive of *Peace Watch* is available at www.usip.org/peacewatch.

President: Richard H. Solomon
Executive Vice President: Patricia Thomson
Director of Public Affairs and Communications: Ian Larsen
Director of Publications: Valerie Norville
Writer/Editor: Peter C. Lyon
Production Manager: Marie Marr Jackson
Production Coordinator: Katharine Moore
Photo Credits: Staff, AP/Wide World Photos, Mohammed M. Hafez

Board of Directors
Chairman: J. Robinson West.
Vice Chairman: María Otero.
Members: Holly J. Burkhalter, Anne H. Cahn, Chester A. Crocker, Laurie S. Fulton, Charles Horner, Kathleen Martinez, George E. Moose, Jeremy A. Rabkin, Ron Silver, Judy Van Rest.
Members ex officio: Robert M. Gates, Department of Defense; Condoleezza Rice, Department of State; Richard H. Solomon, Institute president (nonvoting); Frances C. Wilson, National Defense University.



New Institute Board Members Sworn In



Left to Right: Justice O'Connor swears in new board members Martinez, Silver, Rabkin, Cahn, Van Rest, and Moose.

USIP is pleased to announce the confirmation of six new members of its board of directors, who were sworn in on September 20, 2007. Former Associate Supreme Court Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor** presided over the ceremony. O'Connor is not the sole Supreme Court member to have sworn in board members; **Stephen Breyer**, **Warren Burger**, and **Antonin Scalia** have done so since USIP's inception.

The Institute's bipartisan board is nominated by the president of the U.S. and confirmed by the U.S. Senate. Individuals appointed to serve on the board may serve no more than two four-year terms. Many distinguished Americans from across the country have served on the board since the Institute's founding.

The six new members are filling three vacant posts, plus the expiring seats of **Betty F. Bumpers**, founder and president of Peace Links (Washington, D.C.); **Mora McLean**, president of the Africa-America Institute (New York); and **Barbara W. Snelling**, former Vermont state

senator and lieutenant governor. Short biographies of the incoming members are listed below.

Anne H. Cahn is a former scholar in residence at American University. Holder of a doctorate in political science from MIT, she has served as chief of the Social Impact Staff at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1977–81), special assistant to the deputy assistant secretary of defense (1980–81), and president and executive director of the Committee for National Security (1982–88). Her latest book, *Killing Detente: The Right Attacks the CIA*, was published by Penn State University Press in 1998.

Kathleen Martinez has been the executive director of the World Institute on Disability (WID), based in Oakland, California, since September 2005. Blind since birth, Kathleen is an internationally recognized disability rights leader specializing in employment, asset building, independent living, international development, diversity, and gender issues. Currently, Kathleen oversees Proyecto Visión, WID's National Technical Assistance

Center to increase employment opportunities for Latinos with disabilities in the U.S. It is funded by the Rehabilitation Services Administration and Access to Assets, an asset-building project to help reduce poverty among people with disabilities. At WID, she also headed up the team that produced the acclaimed webzine *DisabilityWorld* in English and Spanish.

George E. Moose is a former career member of the U.S. Foreign Service, where he attained the rank of career ambassador. His service with the U.S. State Department included assignments in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe. He held appointments as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Benin (1983–86) and to the Republic of Senegal (1988–91). From 1991 to 1992, he served as U.S. alternate representative in the United Nations Security Council. In 1993, he was appointed assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, a position he occupied until 1997. From 1998 to 2001, he was U.S. permanent

See *New Board*, page 12



USIP's Iraq Grants: Different Paths toward Same Goal



Newspapers add buoyancy to Iraqi civil society.

Since 2003, the Institute has been working broadly in Iraq, with a focus on training, mediation, and grantmaking. According to USIP Grants Program Officer Ali Amar, the various grants are, “Different paths toward the same goal—peacemaking in Iraq.” Many projects have had a direct and personal effect on the ground in that country. Two of these initiatives, with an emphasis on the media, are discussed below.

Many projects have had a direct and personal effect on the ground in that country.

Student Newsletter Society

In an example of successfully building organizational capacity, the Institute supplied a grant to a student newsletter society that encourages democratic practices at the University of Baghdad. The group dispelled initial suspicions from students and staff through a policy of inclusion, providing a forum for all viewpoints without favoritism or censorship. The society eventually drew more than 300 members and the newsletter

became essential reading for the university community.

Subsequently, the organization came into conflict with the campus followers of Shiite leader Moqtada Al-Sadr over the publication of an article that argued that because his great-uncle, Muhammad Baqr Al-Sadr, inspired Arab democrats, his ideology was essentially democratic. The Sadrist students were enraged, claiming that article mislabeled the thinker a democrat and, implicitly, “a tool of America.” To the shock of the Sadrist students, the society then invited them to submit their own response, ultimately forcing the Sadrists to reconsider their inherent association of democracy with the U.S. Indeed, many Sadrist students have become regular contributors to the newsletter, and some ultimately left the Islamic Student Union to join the newsletter society.

Moreover, the “Student Affairs” section of the newsletter has become the major outlet for student advocacy for on-campus reforms. The newsletter committee expanded the “Opinions” section of the paper from five to eight pages, and received more than 200 submissions for a recent issue. The administration has requested a regular column to respond to student complaints. In publishing their grievances, students have already achieved a number of reforms, including honoring

distinguished graduates previously left unrecognized and giving students access to a computer lab—after the disclosure that the facility had been kept secret from students for staff use only.

Women's Radio Station

In another example of supporting media development in Iraq, the Institute funded an organization that supported the establishment of Al-Mahaba FM, the country's only independent women's station. The station attracted listeners from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds and all of Iraq's major ethnic groups. Listeners have often commented that the station's programming, which some label “a milestone in Iraqi history,” is particularly relevant to their lives. Several government officials and key social figures have contacted the station with positive feedback and asked to appear as guests.

In addition, the project has provided the opportunity for significant capacity development of radio staff, building members' skills in proposal writing, budget development, and financial and narrative reporting. The project has paved the way for follow-on initiatives, including broadcasting programming related to the Iraqi constitution, producing a weekly program to explore rural illiteracy, and launching a media campaign to empower Iraqi women to participate actively in the country's rebuilding process. 🌐

Listeners have often commented that the station's programming, which some label “a milestone in Iraqi history,” is particularly relevant to their lives.



New USIP Guide Bridges Gap Between Military and Aid Workers

USIP recently published a new *Guide for Participants in Peace, Stability, and Relief Operations*, edited by **Robert M. Perito**, senior program officer in USIP's Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations. The *Guide* is a backpack-sized, who's-who reference directory listing that describes actors and organizations commonly found on the ground after an international emergency. Perito convened a steering committee of experienced representatives from the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute; the Department of State; the UN Information Center; the Center for Humanitarian Cooperation; and the U.S. Naval postgraduate school. The book is based on experiences in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the 2004 tsunami relief effort.

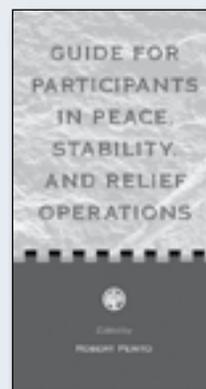
Commenting on the project, Perito noted, "Every civil affairs specialist, aid worker, government official, and international agency representative should receive a copy of the *Guide* while they are in training to take to the field. The *Guide* will help civilian and military personnel to understand their environment, adapt better, and work smarter. For headquarters staff, journalists, and educators, the *Guide* is a valuable reference and unique textbook for the study of peace, stability, and relief operations."

Col. **John F. Agoglia**, of the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and

Stability Operations Institute and a member of the steering committee for the book, commenting on various stakeholders, said, "What needs to be done is to bring these different groups together to work effectively... We look forward to getting critiques back on how we can improve the book." **Roy Williams**, of the Center for Humanitarian Cooperation and steering committee member, praised the Institute's role in facilitating the effort, saying, "The support of the USIP staff made what would have been an onerous chore much less so."

In addition to specific information on organizations and their missions, the *Guide* highlights USIP's *Framework for Success for Fragile States and Societies Emerging from Conflict*. The *Framework* is organized around five components and lists tasks that can help attain those objectives.

After introducing the *Framework for Success*, the *Guide* posits three hypothetical scenarios that demonstrate the interplay among international, U.S. government, and military organizations in such operations. The first is a major natural disaster in an Asian country. The second is heavy U.S. military intervention and the aftermath of bringing about domestic order. The third is the creation of an international peacekeeping force after a conflict in Africa.



Guide for Participants in Peace, Stability, and Relief Operations

October 2007
440 pp. ■ 7 x 10
\$35.00 (paper)
ISBN-13: 978-1-929223-66-4
\$65.00 (cloth)
ISBN-13: 978-1-929223-65-7



Robert M. Perito

The directory of organizations begins with an overview of international groups, including a detailed description of the UN system and related organizations. Overall, the UN is the most heavily involved in peacekeeping, with more than 100,000 personnel deployed in 18 peacekeeping operations. This section includes discussions of the African Union, the League of Arab States, and the International Committee of the Red Cross, among others.

Next, the *Guide* introduces the extremely varied and occasionally contradictory world of private voluntary organizations, with discussions of their structure and organization, the roles of such organizations in conflict, and challenges of coordination. Overall, 51 such organizations involved in humanitarian relief and operations, civil society and democ-

See **Perito**, page 12

"What needs to be done is to bring these different groups together to work effectively..."

—Col. **John F. Agoglia**

"The support of the USIP staff made what would have been an onerous chore much less so." —**Roy Williams**



COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, AND

USIP Hosts Second College and University Faculty Seminar

From July 10 to 15, USIP hosted its second College and University Faculty Seminar (CUFS), entitled “Global Peace and Security from Multiple Perspectives.” The purpose of the event was to enhance teaching and research on global peace and security issues for undergraduate faculty.

CUFS focused on five key areas: the new and challenging international security environment; approaches to conflict management, prevention, and peacebuilding; innovative methods of teaching global peace and security at the undergraduate level; contributions the Institute’s resources can make to their efforts as educators; and prospects to establish long-term productive relationships between the Institute and faculty.

The participants were selected through a process that included submitting a list of related courses that they teach, a statement of purpose as to how they would benefit from the program, and a letter of support from their department chair or dean.

Moreover, selected faculty were prioritized by how their personal experiences would enhance their educational intuitions and the potential of younger faculty to benefit from the program.



CUFS participants in breakout group.

The seminar involved examinations of major themes in conflict and peacemaking, such as resource scarcity and the role of the military, in addition to specific examples such as Sudan and Iraq. Participants were given supportive materials including readings, bibliographies, and case studies.

In total, the program included 18 participants from around the country. Their academic interests included political science/international relations, communication, theology, administration, business, law, theatre, psychology, geography, family and consumer science, education, and public safety management. Seven of the participants taught at liberal arts colleges, six at state universities, and five at private universities.

Linda Bishai, senior program officer at USIP, commenting on the diversity of participants, mentioned that, “We were delighted to bring in people from states like Mississippi, West Virginia, and North Carolina. These are areas whose colleges don’t have well-

established relationships with the Institute.” Bishai was also pleased by the diversity of participants’ experience. The fact that participants could bring such diverse perspectives as theatre, law, Buddhist philosophy, and psychology to their comments and interaction contributions greatly enriched the overall program. Participants viewed the program favorably. One noted that, “My expectations were far exceeded. The speakers/presenters were very well chosen.”

Of particular value for the educators was the panel “Building Interest in Peace and Security: The Student Viewpoint,” which highlighted the experiences of relatively new USIP employees who were recent students. The USIP panelists in this presentation were Christina Parajon, program assistant, USIP Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations; Victoria McCollm, program specialist, USIP Rule of Law; Sarah Dye, research assistant, USIP Education; Aaron Teeter, program assistant, USIP Training; and Jeff Helsing, deputy director, Education. Participants felt that this panel motivated them to increase involvement with their students. One commented, “I enjoyed the way the students had the ability to teach faculty on all levels at the same time. Exceptional!” Bishai observed that the student panel “helped give faculty a sense of how to hook students who are smart on these issues.”

The student viewpoint was incorporated into the program based on remarks made by last year’s participants. They also recommended a field trip to another government agency. This summer’s agenda included one of the most popular events—a briefing on Capitol Hill by staff members of the House Armed Services Committee. Participants were uniformly impressed
See *Colleges and Universities*, page 13

Senior Program Officer Linda Bishai (left) and CUFS participants take a break from the seminar for a DC tour.





Second Annual Community College Faculty and Administrators Seminar Meets at Institute



CCFAS participants, along with USIP Senior Program Officer David J. Smith (right).

USIP's education program recently convened the second annual Community College Faculty and Administrators Seminar (CCFAS). Eighteen participants from around the country took part. The event was designed to give participants an opportunity to carefully examine the nature of international peace and security and how community colleges can teach these issues to their students and the communities they serve.

The driving idea behind the seminar, according to **David J. Smith**, USIP senior program officer in the education and training center, was the need for U.S.-based community colleges to widen their global scope. He pointed out that nearly 50 percent of U.S. undergraduates are enrolled in community colleges. These institutions face challenges such as providing broad-based educational opportunities to America's burgeoning immigrant population. Moreover, they are at the vanguard of innova-

tion in education and increasingly take on leadership roles in areas such as web-based learning, short-term training for police and military, and responding to new global realities in the post-9/11 context.

As a result, there is greater demand from community college administrations for programs such as the CCFAS. According to Smith, community colleges convey the sentiment to USIP that, "We need this so desperately. We need to know how to teach to diaspora communities. USIP is the link to do that." He also commented, "If we're going to be serious about international conflict and peacemaking, we're going to have to reach all strata of society."

Last year's program has already borne fruit, as five community college who participants took part in that program have initiated or are developing programs in peace, security, and conflict: The College of DuPage, near

Chicago, Illinois; Sinclair Community College in Dayton, Ohio; Northampton Community College in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Ocean County College in Toms River, New Jersey; and Indian River Community College in Fort Pierce, Florida. Smith noted that they go "beyond what is the norm in community college education," and are serving as "agents for global peacebuilding."

Of particular note in this respect was the program of Indian River Community College. In March 2007, Indian River, working with USIP staff, participated in a humanitarian crisis simulation training exercise, called FTX ATLANTIC HOPE 07, in Ft. Pierce, Florida. This program was a precursor to a two-week exercise, known as SVETLINA, at the Krivoak Training Center in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in May 2007.

During the event, students put their skills to the test under a variety of challenging circumstances, addressing both the human needs of a simulated disaster as well as the social and political conditions that often compound such tragedies. The overarching objective of this effort was to promote the practical education and training of disaster

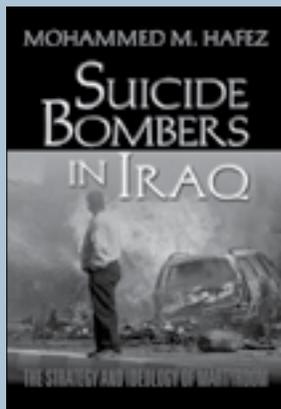
See *Community Colleges* page 13

Smith facilitates a session of community college educators.





AN
INTERVIEW
WITH
USIP
GRANTEE
AND
NOTED
AUTHOR
MOHAMMED
M. HAFEZ



July 2007
40 pp. ■ 6 x 9
\$17.50 (paper)
ISBN:978-1-601270-04-7

SUICIDE BOMBERS IN IRAQ

“A Puzzling Phenomenon”

The new USIP publication *Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom* by **Mohammed M. Hafez**, visiting professor of political science at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, adds major new perspectives to the field. According to **Daniel Serwer**, USIP’s vice president for Post-Conflict Stability Operations, “This is a book that teaches you about something that you read about in the newspaper that causes incredible destruction... this is a major work on suicide bombers... a real contribution to our understanding of the phenomenon.”

In a recent interview with *PeaceWatch*, Hafez said that the idea behind the book originated during his research for his first book written under a USIP grant, *Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers*. While he was working on this first book, it increasingly became clear that, “the stuff that was going on in Iraq couldn’t be ignored.”

Hafez’ assessment is organized along three central themes: “Insurgents and Their Strategies,” which discusses Islamic nationalists, ideological Baathists, and radical Sunnis known as Salafists; “The Alchemy of Martyrdom: Ideology, Theology, and Mythology of Suicide Terrorism”; and “Martyrs without



Mohammed M. Hafez

Borders: Transnational Networks and Volunteerism in Iraq.”

Hafez addresses three fundamental questions in the book. The first is how is it that Iraq, which never experienced suicide bombings prior to the U.S. invasion, has become the lead nation impacted by this phenomenon, with a total of 806 attacks as of July 2007? “Factually, this is really puzzling,” he noted, “zero to 800 in a relatively short time.” Hafez went on to point out that previous studies revealed that suicide attacks came later in insurgent movements, but in Iraq, suicide bombers were present from the outset. “The point is that ‘martyrdom’ has become an acceptable tactic... insurgents have learned that this tactic is out there and that it can be easily applied,” he noted.

The second question involves how the majority of suicide bombers in Iraq, at least as of 2006, are non-Iraqis—“Martyrs Without Borders,” Hafez labeled them. He explained that in other situations that have experienced suicide attacks,

The majority of suicide bombers in Iraq, at least as of 2006, are non-Iraqis.

the assailants, such as Tamils in Sri Lanka, have been indigenous. “What explains that? That’s the most intriguing part,” he said. The fact that Muslims come from as far away as Europe to carry out these attacks, he observed, is proof that the war in Iraq has radicalized a new generation of Muslim youth worldwide.

The third central question posited in the book is why do most suicide bombers target Iraqi police, Shiites, and civilians? “A lot of this can be explained by the ideology of the suicide bombers,” he observed, pointing out that Jihadi Salafism (the ideology most closely associated with radical groups such as al Qaeda) amounts to a form of Sunni supremacy that can be likened to the ideologies of radical racist groups in the U.S. in the 1950s. “At the heart of these arguments are really racist views,” which cite alleged Shiite heresy and historical disagreements with Sunnis. Moreover, Hafez noted that the Shiites are seen as collaborators with coalition forces, making the political dimension of attacks just as important as the religious one.

Origins and Selection of Suicide Bombers

When discussing recruitment patterns, Hafez emphasized that volunteerism is prominent. Such enrollment generally originates through “small groups of relatives or friends who make comments” about the situation in Iraq and hence motivate erstwhile jihadists to travel to Iraq. “That kind of bottom-up volunteerism suggests that it is more inspiration than indoctrination,” he said.

Hafez discussed a form of subtle coercion and manipulation that further impels would-be suicide bombers. “Once they make that journey,” he observed, “It’s really difficult to come back.” Transport networks take the bombers to Iraq, in the process making them privy to organizational secrets. The bombers are then housed in small groups that glorify the approaching act of martyrdom. “When you are in safe houses, oftentimes you’re in there with other people. It becomes really difficult to change your mind.”

Hafez also mentioned that videos of suicide bombers are available through the Internet. In many cases, he noted, “they’re shown to be eager, happy, smiling. At least we know there are some who don’t appear to be drugged, who are doing it out of true belief.”

A related area of his research is the enigmatic nature of the origin of suicide bombers, especially the recent ones (as of January–February 2006, the identities of approximately 87 percent of perpetrators of suicide attackers in Iraq were unknown). According to Hafez, there are two reasons behind this trend. First, a majority of suicide attacks are held in low regard among the general populace because they have targeted civilians. As a result, insurgent groups will not admit culpability. “Some groups don’t want to claim responsibility because they’re seen as atrocious,” observed Hafez. He also pointed out that “what I notice

in the videotapes of groups like al Qaeda, which is now known as the Islamic State of Iraq, is that they rarely show attacks on civilians.”

The second reason it is difficult to collect information on suicide bombers within Iraq is that governments are not willing to reveal their identities, because it is a source of embarrassment. “Oftentimes people just hide this,” he noted.

Role of Islamic Scholars

An overarching consideration in this phenomenon is how it reflects on the standing of the *ulema* (Islamic scholars). “Veneration of jihad and martyrdom [as is the case with fighting and dying in defense of Iraq] is very difficult to condemn. In Islam, there’s a strong sense that when you’re attacked, you have to defend yourself,” he explained. Hafez observed that many of these scholars have justified suicide bombings in the cases of Lebanon and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thereby making it difficult to condemn them in the case of Iraq. “You’re trying to hone the edges, rather than have a blanket condemnation” of the trend, he said. A related theme is that a culture of martyrdom has been promoted by Saudi Arabia and Yemen, according to Hafez. Hence, it is difficult in the case of Iraq to say that such volunteerism is not applicable in Iraq.

See *Hafez* page 14

“Once they make that journey, it’s really difficult to come back.”

—Mohammed M. Hafez



An Iraqi man walks through the rubble from a suicide truck bombing site in Iraq. (AP photo/Petr David Josek)



USIP EVENTS

Somalia: A New Cycle of Conflict

Somalia has been wracked with conflict since 1991. A major episode in this respect took place in December 2006, when U.S.-sponsored Ethiopian and Transitional Federal Government (TFG) forces defeated Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) militias. However, recent months have seen renewed fighting, with resurgent UIC forces launching renewed attacks on the TFC and Ethiopian forces. While the first deployments of an African Union peacekeeping force have arrived, the country is once again on the verge of breakdown.

In order to explore this situation, USIP recently cosponsored, with the Center for International and Strategic Studies (CSIS), a panel discussion at CSIS entitled “Somalia’s Crisis: Challenges to Peace.” The event detailed U.S. policy toward the country and the current political and humanitarian situation. The participants included **Steve Morrison**, CSIS Africa Program; **David Smock**, USIP vice president; **Jim Swan**, deputy assistant secretary of state for African Affairs; **Leslie Lefkow**, Human Rights Watch (HRW); **Geoff Loane**, International



USIP Vice President David Smock moderates the jointly sponsored event.

Committee of the Red Cross; and **Ken Menkhaus**, of Davidson College.

After an introduction by Morrison, Smock coordinated the discussion. Reflecting later on the event, he commented, “While the international community has tired of paying attention to Somalia, ordinary Somalis suffer beyond normal comprehension.”

Swan noted that reconciliation remains the common goal of the U.S. and the various parties impacted in the conflict, and that at present, the U.S. is most concerned about extremist violence perpetuated by the *Al-Shabab* militia, the more extremist remnants of the UIC. U.S. priorities over the long term are to encourage inclusive dialogue; deploy the African Union (AU) stabilization force; bring about a robust program of international assistance programs; assist the constitutional and electoral process; and respond to humanitarian needs. Early this year, the U.S. allocated \$19.6 million for the AU force, and, in August 2007, commenced training of two battalions of Burundian soldiers to form that body. Swan emphasized U.S. support for the constitutional and reconciliation process,

See *Somalia*, page 15

“While the international community has tired of paying attention to Somalia, ordinary Somalis suffer beyond normal comprehension.” —David Smock



An Ethiopian soldier with gun guarding a crowd in Kismayu, Somalia. (AP Photo)

Examining Sources of Terror Financing



USIP Senior Program Officer Taylor Seybolt moderates the event.

USIP recently held a book launch for the Institute-sponsored volume, *Countering the Financing of Terrorism*, published by Routledge. The panelists, some of whom were contributors to the book, summarized their analysis of this complex, widely discussed, yet poorly understood subject. Having brought together leading analysts of terrorism, international relations, global finance, law, and criminology, the volume provides a critical assessment of the international effort to restrict terrorist financing.

A \$50,000 USIP grant to the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University facilitated publication of the book. Underscoring the importance of the initiative, USIP Grants Vice President **Judy Barsalou** said, “Even though the problem of terrorism is not a new one, we have yet to master mechanisms to limit terrorist access to financial and other sources of support. This study provides fascinating insights into the challenges facing the international community in this regard.”

The key conclusions of the group were that: countering terrorism requires a multi-pronged, global, meticulous approach; much progress has been made on regulating terrorism financing; the U.S.-based regulatory approach has been widely adapted internationally; combating terror financing is just one aspect of the larger struggle in this respect; and while much can be accomplished, regulation will not completely shut down terrorism financing.

USIP Senior Program Officer **Taylor Seybolt** moderated the panel, which included editors **Thomas Biersteker** of the Graduate School for International Studies (Geneva) and **Sue Eckert** of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. The discussants were **Martin Weiss** of the Congressional Research Service and **Matthew Levitt** of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and former deputy assistant secretary of intelligence at the Department of Treasury.

Seybolt kicked off the discussion, noting that USIP awarded a grant in 2004 to sponsor this project. “Terrorist financing has been a major issue since 9/11, but there’s not much public understanding, or even specialist understanding, about what we can do about it,” he said.

Emphasizing that the book was “quite deliberately multidisciplinary,” Biersteker highlighted that the effort brought in contributors from fields such as criminology and law. Reflecting on the larger trend against terrorist financing, Biersteker highlighted that a new global regime related to terrorist financing—the de facto “export of the American regulatory approach”—has taken hold. This system, he noted, has significant potential for expansion into other

areas—such as anticorruption, money laundering, and tax evasion—for global governance.

Eckert expounded on this theme, pointing out that before 9/11, there was no international system to suppress terrorist financing. Within three weeks after the attacks, however, UN Security Council Resolution 1373 mandated that all member states take steps to freeze terrorist funds. She continued to discuss UN enforcement mechanisms against terrorist financing. She also noted that prior to 9/11 there were 30 national financial intelligence units worldwide; at present, there are 100.

Eckert cited four recommendations for policymakers to take into account in countering terror financing. The first is to keep these issues in perspective, as they are only one piece of a broad framework involving intelligence, law enforcement, and military action. Second, stakeholders should differentiate between various groups involved. Third, the “war” metaphor should be dropped, as it sends the wrong message to U.S. partners. Finally, respective agencies should focus on ways in which terrorists raise cash, such as trade-based financing and crime.

“It’s like Whack-a-Mole. You hit one and another comes up.” —Martin Weiss

Weiss stressed that the international community has made remarkable strides in countering terrorist financing. Referring to U.S. government efforts, he emphasized that “it is critical that Treasury OIA [Office of Intelligence Analysis] be fully integrated to the intelligence community.” He then elaborated on six policy recommendations found in the book to curb terror financing, including an enhanced international process to single out uncooperative states and entities in this process and enhanced public diplomacy efforts. In response

See *Terror Financing*, page 15



Colombia

continued from page 2
methodology to similar groups in the country.

Sughrue recollected that one of the participants was pleased, as this was the first time she had worked in such a structure. “I don’t think many organizations are going to Cúcuta to work with a such a group,” said the woman.

The USIP/CEP team plans on a follow-up session in Colombia in November. 🌍



New Board

continued from page 3

representative to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva. Ambassador Moose is adjunct professor of practice at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. In 2007, he joined LMI Government Consulting as a senior fellow. He serves on the boards of Search for Common Ground, the Atlantic Council, the American Academy of Diplomacy, and Elderhostel. He is also a member of the Committee of International Advisors of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva.

Jeremy A. Rabkin is a professor at George Mason Law School in Arlington, Virginia, specializing in international law and constitutional history. Rabkin received a BA from Cornell (1974) and a PhD in political science at Harvard University. He taught in the department of government at Cornell University from 1980 until the spring of 2007. He serves on the board of Academic Advisors of the American Enterprise Institute, on the advisory board of the *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* and the board of directors of the Center for

Individual Rights (a public interest law firm in Washington, DC). Rabkin’s recent writing has focused on the history and continuing significance of national sovereignty, as in his most recent book, *Law Without Nations* (Princeton University Press, 2005). His current research interests include the role of international organizations and international NGOs in developing countries.

Ron Silver is one of America’s leading actors, producers, and directors, and has starred on Broadway as well as in films and television. He is also a committed activist whose voice has been heard on many issues facing the theatre community and the country at large. President of Actors’ Equity Association for nine years (1991–2000), Silver was also the founder and president of the Creative Coalition. Silver won Broadway’s Tony Award and a Drama Desk Award for his performance in David Mamet’s *Speed the Plow*. In films, Silver gave much-acclaimed performances in Paul Mazursky’s *Enemies: A Love Story* and the Academy Award-winning *Reversal of Fortune*. Silver also appeared as Henry Kissinger in the acclaimed *Kissinger and Nixon* for TNT, and produced and narrated *Broken Promises: The U.N. at 60*. The television film *The Billionaire Boys Club* earned Silver his first Emmy nomination. Before becoming an actor, Silver attended law school and received a master’s degree in Chinese history. In addition to his appointment to the board of directors of the USIP, Silver is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations as well as a member of the Program Committee at the Wilson Council, the private sector advisory group of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars.

Judy Van Rest was appointed executive vice president for the International Republican Institute (IRI) in August 2004. From April 2003 to July 2004,

she served as senior advisor for governance for the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Baghdad, Iraq. In that capacity, she conducted outreach programs for Iraqi women to assist them in participating in the democratic development of their country. She also served as CPA’s director of the Office of Democratic Initiatives, coordinating programs ranging from election administration, civic education, political party building, women’s leadership training, and non-governmental organization development to local government, media infrastructure building, and transparency in government and civil society. Van Rest was appointed to the Peace Corps as associate director for management and chief information officer in September 2001 and was responsible for formulating policies and implementing operation plans for both domestic and overseas Peace Corps missions. She became regional director for the Europe, Mediterranean, and Asia Region in May 2002, and managed a broad range of operational, policy, and procedural issues in support of more than 1800 volunteers and several hundred staff in 21 countries. 🌍

Perito

continued from page 5

racy building, and conflict resolution are profiled.

U.S. government agencies make up the next section. In recent years, the array of such entities represented abroad has grown in response to the challenges of terrorism and insurgencies. New institutions have been established and old agencies have taken on new functions. In this light, the *Guide* describes the impact of new presidential directives on the interagency process and the role of U.S. civilian agencies in the field.

Finally, the *Guide* deciphers complex military acronyms, outlines



the U.S. military command structure, and describes the military services, including military organization, structure, and culture; the challenges of stability operations; and uniforms, weapons, and other equipment. 🌐

Colleges and Universities

continued from page 6

by staff member **Lorry Fenner's** presentation of the role of Congress in oversight and support to the military and of the complex and complimentary relationship of the Armed Services Committee with the Department of Defense.

Another new addition to the program was the presentation on using the computer simulation "Complex Simulations, Running the ICONS Course," presented by **Alison McCarty**, associate professor of political science at Towson University, and **Doug Woodruff**, graduate student at the same institution. ICONS (International Communication and Negotiation Simulations) is a computer-based simulation that places college and high school students into the roles of policymakers addressing complex international issues. ICONS utilizes customized web-based tools, such as country briefings and advanced messaging, to reach both other individual participants and the entire simulation group. ICONS offers a variety of scenarios, including the U.S. Senate and regional simulations focused on Africa, Southeast Asia, and North Korea. In a recent academic year, more than 1500 college and university students used in the program.

One CUFAS participant called the presentation on ICONS "life-changing," while another noted that it "inspired me to help students to learn."

Other panels offered at the seminar included: an introduction to the Institute by President Dr. **Richard Solomon** and **Pamela Aall**, vice president for education;

"Diplomacy: Making and Keeping Peace in Sudan," by **Joan Mower** of the Sudan Programs group at the Department of State; "Religion and Peacemaking: Islam and the West," by **Qamar-ul Huda**, senior program officer, Religion and Peacemaking; "Dealing with the Consequences of Conflict: Comprehensive Approaches to Iraq," by **Paul Hughes**, senior program officer, Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Ops, **Mishkat Al-Moumim**, Futrell Visiting Scholar, Environmental Law Institute, and **Daniel Levine**, program officer of the Institute's Education Program. In addition to the panels, the program included a visit to a House Armed Services Committee hearing and a tour of the home of Former President Wilson.

Participants have stayed in touch through an e-mail list that connects them with last year's class. Participants from both years have already come back to the Institute with queries, proposals, publications, and suggestions. Bishai highlighted the need to connect faculty with direct, on the ground success stories pertaining to the Institute's work: "You need to hook them with stories of positive change and reconciliation. Those are the things that really get them energized and help them to hold the interest of their students." 🌐

Community Colleges

continued from page 7

relief workers, reconstruction specialists, and humanitarian practitioners.

Dr. **Paul Forage**, assistant professor of emergency management at Indian River, noted, "By inviting international participants from the Republic of Macedonia we were able to inject alternative perspectives and viewpoints. We realized quickly that our Florida training events should be the prerequisite for a follow-on training experience that is truly international."

CCFAS was a balance of "content"—examining at the major issues surrounding global peace and security—and "methodology"—strategies that can be applied in teaching community college audiences. The sessions were wide-ranging and structured around the Institute's conflict prevention, conflict resolution and management, and post-conflict peacebuilding model.

The seminar provided faculty with insights into: content on the new realities of the international peace and security environment; proven, innovative teaching techniques to address these issues; and programmatic models to deliver educational content. In addition, throughout the seminar, faculty had the chance to learn from Institute and Washington experts, access Institute resources, and foster long-term relationships with USIP and each other.

Overall, the seminar bolstered the status of community colleges as "learning communities" to explore issues of peace and security. One of the participants commented on the panels, "Not only were the sessions informative, but I met many other faculty members with whom we will share resources when we return home."

A key aspect of the seminar was to provide the opportunity for participants to develop their own prospective projects or syllabi. Different working groups conceptualized courses focused on global issues and conflict, a community college certificate in peace and conflict resolution, a college-wide initiative to increase overall campus awareness, and a series of peacebuilding exercises that could be infused into a course.

The 2007 program, coincided with a USIP public event, "Child Soldiers: New Evidence, New Advocacy Approaches," that focused on strategies for child

See *Community Colleges*, page 14



Community Colleges

continued from page 13

soldier re-integration in post-conflict societies. Commenting on the event, one of the participants noted that it demonstrated the “potential for USIP to bring together a range of views and practices to provide insight and education on the global scope of an issue.”

The eighteen participants included one dean and two department chairs and hailed from public community colleges in California, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The disciplines reflected the wide diversity often seen in community colleges: English, political science, geography, history, psychology, anthropology, sociology, learning skills, and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). In discussing these varied academic backgrounds, Smith said, “I’m always impressed...the faculty that apply do not just represent humanities and social science. The applicants reflect the wide variety of academic and career programs that they are supporting.”

Hafez

continued from page 9

Perception of Divide within the Insurgency

A major observation in the book is that there is a divide in the Iraq insurgency between Sunni-rooted Iraqi nationalists and extremist groups, which until recently have largely been constituted of foreigners, such as al Qaeda in Iraq. (Military sources acknowledge that the ranks of al Qaeda in Iraq are increasingly being filled with

Iraqis, not just foreigners.) In the beginning, the two groups were entwined in a “marriage of convenience,” as both are opposed to the Shiite-majority, U.S.-backed government. However, this situation is changing as the Iraqi nationalists struggle for a rebuilt Iraq more amenable to their interests while the foreign-based radicals seek the total destruction of the Iraqi government in order to establish a “failed state” to replace their bases in Afghanistan.

When asked about the degree of general Arab and Iraqi-based recognition of this conflict, Hafez noted a difference. With regard to the Arab public writ large, he pointed out a general sense of incredulity. “There is a general perception that the insurgents constitute that one thing, resistance to America... When someone points out that al Qaeda is killing more Iraqis [than invaders], people say, ‘We don’t believe it’s al Qaeda.’” However, among the Arab public at large, “There’s an acknowledgement that the divisions are not quite clear, and only more informed readers tend to notice the divisions. Increasingly, they’ve become more apparent as these groups clash.”

Notwithstanding, there is a growing perception of this gap among the Iraq public, who differentiate between two forms of resistance: *muqawama shari’yya* (“honorable resistance”) and *irhab a’zbwai* (“indiscriminate terrorism”). Hafez noted that the problem arises with “who’s responsible for indiscriminate terrorism.” There is a belief that “America has introduced sectarianism in various ways... so that [Iraqi groups] deflect their attention from fighting American forces.”

Future Trends

Hafez discussed larger regional themes related to suicide bombings.

“We need to look at the refugee problem. This is big!”—Mohammed M. Hafez

On the horizon, a major issue for policymakers is the question of internal and external Iraqi refugees. “We need to look at the refugee problem,” he emphasized, “This is big!” According to Hafez, these groups are highly motivated and dependent on others for their survival, and, as a result, highly susceptible to manipulation from outside predators. An example that demonstrates the potential challenges that these groups may pose is that the Taliban were once largely refugees in Pakistan. “This is actually something that we can do something about. We could bring in UN support and others to make sure they don’t become vulnerable communities susceptible to violence or recruitment.”

Hafez also reflected on patterns of replication of suicide bombings worldwide, and the overall allure of this technique. He noted that the symbolism and strategies of suicide bombings have been present elsewhere, such as to Afghanistan, Algeria, Somalia (against Ethiopian forces), Pakistan, and Bangladesh. “The tactic of martyrdom has become modular and diffused... There’s an aura of heroism around it that’s emerging,” he observed. However, it is critical to bear in mind that a trend has emerged with suicide tactics in that they are most effective, and accepted most publicly, in cases of foreign occupation such as Iraq. However, Hafez likened it to “shooting oneself in the foot” when it does not involve direct occupation, as it promotes public scorn and erodes support. In this sense, it “contains the seeds of its own demise.”

Reflecting on another challenge facing the U.S., Hafez also calls



to attention common criticisms of U.S. policy in the Islamic world. Paraphrasing them, he notes: “You say you are for democracy, but when people are elected you impose sanctions on them; you say you are for liberty, but two of your strongest supporters are two of the most repressive regimes in the world; you say you are for ending occupation, yet there are occupations around the world that you are not dealing with.”

Currently, Hafez is researching the phenomenon of “blowback” from Iraq—fighters who may return to their home countries after fighting in Iraq to create indigenous insurgencies. There is a strong parallel, he notes, between this current trend and fighters who returned to their home countries from fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan. “Some went back to their countries to create a revolutionary movement,” he noted. “What is the possibility of that in the case of Iraq, producing global jihadists?”

Somalia

continued from page 10

adding that the U.S. is eager to find a way for Ethiopian forces to exit. He also expressed U.S. concern over the role of Eritrea in opposing the TFG and supplying arms to its opponents.

Lefkow spotlighted the overall lack of attention the situation in Somalia has received. “I’ve been documenting abuses in armed conflicts for more than a decade,” she said, “One thing that struck me is just how a crisis of this magnitude and crimes of this scale could fall so quickly in the international media and in the international community.” For example, she pointed out that while the humanitarian tragedy that befell Lebanon in the summer of 2006 paled in comparison to the devastation in Somalia, events in the Levant garnered far more attention than what is currently at hand in the Horn of Africa.

She summarized the main points of Human Rights Watch’s recent report, *Shell-Shocked: Civilians Under Siege in Mogadishu*. To undertake this research, HRW interviewed more than 100 witnesses, many of whom were victims of the events in question. The first area HRW examined was the factions of the “insurgency,” as she labeled them: the *Al-Shabab*, clan-related militia groups, and other actors. In what Lefkow called a fundamental problem under humanitarian law, these groups deployed in civilian areas, from which they often attacked Ethiopian and TFG forces, which have also committed serious violations of humanitarian law. Medical facilities were deliberately targeted in the fighting, according to Lefkow, including at least three hospitals. These attacks took the form of shelling, Katyusha rocket attacks, looting, and occupation by Ethiopian troops. Other civilian areas have also been targeted.

Menkhaus, whom Smock called a “thoughtful and insightful observer of events in Somalia,” discussed the conflict and its relationship to surrounding areas. “Politically,” he lamented, “this is the worst situation I’ve seen in Somalia in about 14 years,” adding that he was “anxious and perplexed” about the situation. One of the greatest tragedies currently taking place in the country, he noted, was that a group of civil society activists, with whom he communicated regularly, were “afraid to talk.” Not infrequently, they have been targeted and killed.

He continued to explain that one cannot understand the current situation in Somalia without understanding two broader, interlinked conflicts in the Horn of Africa: the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the crisis in the Ogaden region (of eastern Ethiopia), where a secessionist rebellion persists. He expressed his “shock at how immune we’ve become at what’s actually happening in Somalia.” According to Menkhaus, 300,000 people have been displaced from Mogadishu in recent months, as well as many thousands of internally

displaced persons throughout the country. Food insecurity and malnutrition are also common, with 25 percent of children suffering from acute malnutrition in one region. Threats also abound against those viewed as collaborators with the TFG. Those who have the means are fleeing the country.

Commenting on the military situation, Menkhaus noted that the 2006 counterinsurgency action on the part of TFG and Ethiopian forces, which had been portrayed as a victory, in reality simply led to a change in insurgents’ tactics. At present, he said, insurgents are copying tactics used in Iraq, with a much greater use of roadside bombs against TFG and Ethiopian forces. A related danger in Somalia, according to Menkhaus, is the emergence of warlords. He noted that the overall situation has further damaged the U.S. image in the region, as Ethiopia and the TFG are viewed as U.S. stooges.

Terror Financing

continued from page 11

to a question concerning targeting different sources of terror financing, Weiss observed that “It’s like Whack-a-Mole. You hit one and another comes up.”

In his remarks, Levitt asserted the book’s value, saying, “This makes a very important contribution to the literature... it is an amazing compilation of analysis.” He recalled his experience at the Department of Treasury, in which designating entities of terrorism was a slow, deliberative process. He stressed that there is often confluence among terrorist groups in their sources of financing. Law enforcement focuses on these “chokepoints,” the “Achilles heel” of these groups, said Levitt. Underlying all these efforts, he stressed, is the importance of accurate financial intelligence. He too highlighted the importance of public diplomacy efforts, noting that, “We don’t gauge sufficiently in the battle of ideas. This is one battle we can’t afford to lose.”

“I’ve been documenting abuses in armed conflicts for more than a decade. One thing that struck me is just how a crisis of this magnitude and crimes of this scale could fall so quickly in the international media and in the international community.”
—Leslie Lefkow

Recent Publications

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. They can be downloaded from our website at www.usip.org/pubs.

- *Engaging Islamists and Promoting Democracy: A Preliminary Assessment*, by Mona Yacoubian (Special Report 190, Sept. 2007)
- *New Hopes for Negotiated Solutions in Colombia*, by Virginia M. Bouvier (Working Paper, Sept. 2007)
- *Kosovo: Breaking the Deadlock*, by Daniel Serwer (USIPeace Briefing, Sept. 2007)
- *The Central African Republic: Worsening Crisis in a Troubled Region*, by Jacqueline C. Woodfork and Joel Charny (USIPeace Briefing, Sept. 2007)
- *Seven Months Into the Surge: What Does It Mean For Iraqis?*, by Rend Francke (Working Paper, Sept. 2007)
- *Iraq: Time for a Change*, by Daniel Serwer (USIPeace Briefing, Sept. 2007)
- *U.S. Police in Peace and Stability Operations*, by Robert M. Perito (Special Report 191, Aug. 2007)
- *Political Violence and Democratic Uncertainty in Ethiopia*, by Lahra Smith (Special Report 192, Aug. 2007)
- *Iraq and the Gulf States: The Balance of Fear*, Jon B. Alterman (Special Report 189, Aug. 2007)
- *Guidelines for Relations Between U.S. Armed Forces and Non-Governmental Humanitarian Organizations* (Aug. 2007)

For more information about these and other resources, visit the Institute's website at www.usip.org

New from usip press

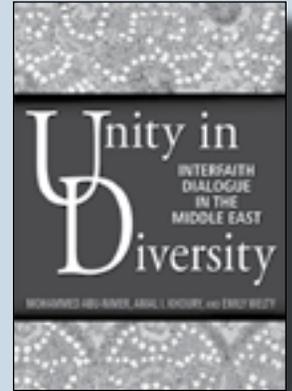
To order, call (800) 868-8064 (U.S. only) or (703) 661-1590
<http://bookstore.usip.org>

Unity and Diversity

Interfaith Dialogue in the Middle East
Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Amal I. Khoury, and Emily Welty

The authors introduce IFD's central concepts and terms, its various models, and the nature of IFD in a Middle Eastern context. They also discuss the intricate relationships between interfaith activities and religious identity, nationalism, violence, and peacemaking in four very different settings: Israel/Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, and Jordan.

August 2007 ■ 336 pp. ■ 6 x 9
\$19.95 (paper) ■ ISBN 978-1-601270-13-9

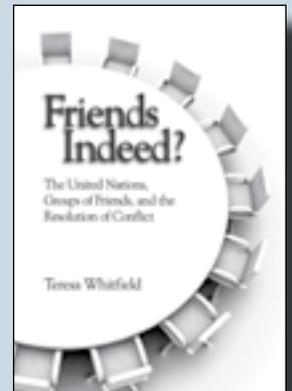


Friends Indeed?

The United Nations, Groups of Friends, and the Resolution of Conflict
Teresa Whitfield

Teresa Whitfield provides an overview of the types of groups and coalitions that have been actively engaged in issues of peace and security within the UN sphere and identifies five core factors for their success. Case studies include El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Georgia, Western Sahara, and East Timor.

September 2007 ■ 400 pp. ■ 6 x 9
\$19.95 (paper) ■ ISBN 978-1-601270-05-4
\$50.00 (cloth) ■ ISBN 978-1-601270-06-1



United States Institute of Peace
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-3011
www.usip.org

FORWARDING SERVICE REQUESTED

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Washington, DC
Permit No. 2806